

## Message Text

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12

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-05 L-01

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5912

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, PL

SUBJECT: FRG RELATIONS WITH POLAND

1. OCTOBER 21 EDITION OF DER SPIEGEL CARRIES ARTICLE ALLEGING GROWING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT AND FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER OVER HOW TO RESTORE MOVE- MENT TO NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BONN AND WARSAW. ACCORD- ING TO SPIEGEL, GENSCHER HAS TAKEN PARTICULAR INTEREST IN POLAND AND HAS DECIDED TO TREAT BONN-WARSAW RELATIONS AS HIS PRESERVE. ARTICLE POINTS OUT THAT GENSCHER PARTICULARLY MENTIONED POLAND IN HIS SPEECH AT THE FDP CONVENTION IN HAMBURG IN LATE SEPTEMBER. GENSCHER, ARTICLE SAYS, WOULD LIKE AT MINIMUM TO MAKE CLEAR TO

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THE POLES THAT THE FRG STILL REGARDS ITS FINANCIAL OFFER

AS NEGOTIABLE. THIS WOULD APPLY AS WELL TO THE POLISH DEMANDS FOR FINANCIAL COMPENSATION OF POLISH VICTIMS OF NAZISM. SCHMIDT, ON THE OTHER HAND, CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT THE FRG'S RESPONSE TO THE LETTER WHICH GIerek SENT TO SCHMIDT IN EARLY SEPTEMBER, SHOULD MERELY REITERATE THE OLD OFFER OF A DM 1 BILLION SUBSIDIZED CREDIT AND A LUMP-SUM PENSIONS PAYMENT IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF DM 500 MILLION. SPIEGEL STATES THAT SCHMIDT IS SUPPORTED IN THIS POSITION BY FINANCE MINISTER APEL BUT THAT IT IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CHANCELLOR'S LAST WORD ON THE SUBJECT. ARTICLE CITES A SOURCE CLOSE TO SCHMIDT AS SAYING THAT THE CHANCELLOR UNDERSTANDS THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE BONN-WARSAW RELATIONSHIP AND REALIZES THAT THE FRG CANNOT PINCH EVERY MARK.

2. COMMENT : ON THE BASIS OF OUR OWN TALKS WITH FOREIGN OFFICE REPRESENTATIVES, WE BELIEVE THERE IS SOMETHING TO THE SPIEGEL STORY ALTHOUGH, AS USUAL IN THIS MAGAZINE, THE DIFFERENCES ARE PROBABLY OVERSIMPLIFIED AND EXAGGERATED. WORKING-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAVE FELT SINCE EARLY THIS YEAR THAT A LESS RIGID FRG POSITION AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME (I.E., DURING THE OLSZOWSKI VISIT IN DECEMBER 1973) MIGHT HAVE LED TO A FIRM AGREEMENT WHICH THE POLISH FOREIGN MINISTER COULD HAVE DEFENDED SUCCESSFULLY IN WARSAW AND WHICH WOULD HAVE RESULTED INTER ALIA, IN PERMISSIONS TO EMIGRATE FOR AT LEAST 150 THOUSAND ETHNIC GERMANS OVER A PERIOD OF THREE YEARS. OUR CONTACTS BELIEVE THAT IT MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN NECESSARY TO AGREE EXPLICITLY TO COMPENSATION PAYMENTS BUT THAT, RATHER, AN ENLARGEMENT OF THE CREDIT OFFER TO, SAY, DM 1.5 BILLION MIGHT HAVE DONE THE JOB-- AND DONE IT IN A WAY WHICH WOULD HAVE BEEN CONSISTENT WITH THE BRANDT POLICY OF BASING FRG RELATIONS WITH EASTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES ON FUTURE COOPERATION RATHER THAN ON SETTLEMENT OF PAST DEBTS. FOREIGN OFFICE REPS BLAME THE THEN FINANCE MINISTER SCHMIDT FOR HAVING BLOCKED ANY SUCH ENLARGEMENT OF THE CREDIT OFFER AT THE CRITICAL TIME. IF GENSCHER HAS ADOPTED THE VIEWS OF HIS ADVISERS, ONE CAN ASSUME THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIM AND THE CHANCELLOR ARISE NOT ONLY FROM A NATURAL

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DESIRE ON THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S PART TO KEEP A PIECE OF FOREIGN POLICY TERRITORY FREE FROM THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE "OMNIPOTENT SCHMIDT", BUT ALSO FROM A GENUINE DIFFERENCE OF OPINION AS TO WHAT COULD HAVE BEEN DONE IN THE PAST AND STILL MIGHT BE DONE TO WARM UP THE FROSTY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BONN AND WARSAW.

HILLENBRAND

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